[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities. 177 182 185

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913. 178 567 565 [648] [1997]

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá. 178 182 565 [464] [511] [361] [171]

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

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Preface

/01 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
/33 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
/97 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
/61 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

/63 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[/96] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

/77 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
/42 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
/91 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
/62 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
/71 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

/19 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

/21 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
/77 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[/14] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

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175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 135 177 M G [17] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [18] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 almost no help in reconstruct-
173 ing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[171] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree, and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

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We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.

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60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[Text continues on p. 47]

142 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

114 565 class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahereˆ-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 565 555 701 [567] Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group, whether they were Naati or Wahereˆ-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

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/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

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66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic
177 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratifica-
178 tion, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco
565 groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns
177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú
178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters
565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri-
461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the
178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems
565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of
462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more
[171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 67. Among the western Txané
462 who live in a symbiotic relation-
177 ship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupí) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462 273 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the 462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both [177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte- 177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the 178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in 648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably 462 565

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But
771 much greater--still according to the same source--was the re-
821 spect they showed for the "small constellation which they
[796] called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that
● [17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a
[289] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these
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85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

/52 cont./ of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that traditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to

90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect, Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, today changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

• 171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both children having the same name, Narearedi." (93) The version

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93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that [616] reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

3:Oliveira--140 E-5,9(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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Guarani SM4

[Francisco Horta]

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433 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
511 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
241 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
439 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
Gi adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
[464] regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas
the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural
production that is hardly enough for their own consumption,
compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry
or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market
(leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also,
and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas,
where they find their principal source of income. We have
seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-
sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that
they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their
survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50
years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
● [171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is
a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree,
when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are
also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily
assimilated by it.

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156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/107 cont./

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to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

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For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

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166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

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167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these, the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.

/108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Believers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

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369 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban
369 "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
*177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

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202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

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Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
197 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[121] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
197 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
271 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[129] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[129] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

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121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
●191 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

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1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from